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ABSTRACT

Studies suggest that historically Australian Catholic schools have existed not only to reproduce Catholic traditions, but also to advance the children of the Irish working classes socially. Data collected at the highly academically oriented Christian Brothers College (CBD), Newburyport, support the idea of educating for upward mobility as a means of combating Protestant domination of both secondary education and white collar employment. The Brothers have long enjoyed the strong support of the local Catholic community, and most present pupils' fathers also attended CBC schools. Still, a number of these same fathers, now financially successful, are sending their sons to the more exclusive Protestant schools, which means a loss of promising academic prospects and of influential parents. Less than one third of the remaining pupils proceeed to tertiary education. CBC partially maintains its elite status with its entrance exam, as well as zoning regulations that seem at odds with the Brothers' original mission. Further, given recent economic difficulties, the "second wave" of CBC Catholics can expect a less accelerated rise than the first, although almost all can expect jobs within the established order. The irony is that CBC promotes an uncritical view of social structures while the social hierarchy itself remains unchallenged. (KS)

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ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING A CATHOLIC IDENTITY:

CBC, CLASS AND NEWBURYPORT CATHOLICS

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INTRODUCTION:

ESTABLISHING A CATHOLIC IDENTITY

The essential role of Australian Catholic schools has been to maintain and develop a sense of Catholic identity, both social and religious. In spite of changes in society, in education, and within the Church itself during the past century, the official Catholic position is still that such an identity can best be maintained by isolating Catholic children in separate schools in which a totally Catholic environment facilitates Catholic socialisation. This view has been consistently used to argue for the necessity of Catholic schools.

In the 1870s and 1880s the Australian Catholic Bishops fought to establish a separate system of Catholic education which, they hoped, would serve all Australian Catholic children. Their successors have continued the battle. But the struggle was about more than simply the construction of a Catholic education system - it was about creating a Catholic identity in a society in which Catholics were a minority. The prolonged campaign of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy, through persuasion, cajolery and the use of religious sanctions, ensured that the issue of Catholic education came to symbolise

Catholic solidarity and the willingness to fight for religious, political and social status. The galvanisation of Catholic consciousness was largely the result of the identification of Catholicism with working-class Irishness. Thus, as Campion concludes:

> "The Catholic school system is the Irish [Australian] bishops' greatest monument. For a century it has dominated the Catholic history of Australia. Its establishment and maintenance have formed the Catholic community to a greater extent than any other single factor" (Campion, 1982: 67)

During recent decades, this identification of Catholicism with Irishness has faded, although the fact that Australian Catholics are still commonly called "paddies" or "micks" betrays the unthinking acceptance of the historical link.

Uncritical Catholic support for their separate schools historically did much to exacerbate prejudices and led to what later became known as the 'ghetto' mentality of Australian Catholics. When combined with consciousness of working class identity and determination to advance in the new world, Catholic enthusiasm for education made Catholics even "... more aware of the sectarianism and the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish prejudices common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Australia" (Selleck, 1978: 87).

Once Catholic consciousness had been sufficiently aroused by the bishops and clergy in the late nineteenth century, many Catholics unquestioningly supported their schools and the separate system of education grew rapidly. Many others, who at first persisted in sending children to state schools, were brought into line by bishops' statements that they were failing in their parental duty and so wilfully living in a state of sin, thereby precluding themselves from the sacraments. Such methods, and the persuasion or protestations of parish priests, resulted in between a half and two thirds of Catholic children receiving education in Catholic schools throughout most of this century. To those involved in the struggle to establish them, the schools provided tangible illustrations of active and flowering Catholicism.

To loyal Catholics the Catholic school became the dominant reality as well as the dominant symbol of the Catholic faith itself - the school is, therefore the Church is.

That the overt role of Catholic schools is to reproduce Catholic traditions has, since the foundation of Catholic schools in Australia, been maintained as the official justification for their existence (Bourke, 1972; Young, 1972). Analysis of the history of Catholic education in Australia suggests, however, that in practice support for Catholic schools has been based as much upon social as religious motives. Such a conclusion is reinforced by the doctoral research of Leavey (1972), who states that her study...

> "indicated quite clearly that discipline, examination results and a certain refinement of manners were important goals" (Leavey, 1980: 34).

Of particular significance is the importance that was given to examination results. This gives an indication of the priority which Catholics and their hierarchy have placed upon the social advancement of their children. The schools, especially secondary schools, were seen as the important agents of such social advancement. In this way the Irish working class and, later, European migrants have used Catholic schools as avenues to the professions and white-collar employment. That this was largely the purpose of Catholic schools was made clear by the dominant Catholic personality of twentieth century Australia, Archbishop Mannix. Soon after arriving in Australia from Ireland, he asserted in 1916 that:

> "... Catholics, according to their population in the community, should have possessed at least a quarter of the wealth of Victoria. If they did not, the reason was 'that they had not made as much use of higher education as others'. This factor, his Grace maintained, kept Catholics at the bottom of the social scale" (in Fogarty, 1959: 334).

Until the middle of the twentieth century, however, secondary schools in Australia were considered largely the preserve of children of the monied classes who were destined for the professions or at least for careers in the public service.

While the emphasis in Catholic education was at first on the primary schools established in each parish, the Catholic hierarchy believed from the start that Catholic secondary schools would have a role to play in the social and political advancement of Catholics. Many Catholics, including Abbot Gregory, felt as early as 1820 that:

> "... some scheme of higher education was necessary - an education that would transcend the mere bread-and-butter preoccupations of the masses and prepare an elite from whom the offices of Church and state could eventually be filled" (in Fogarty, 1959: 312).

Indeed, Fogarty believes that the traditional Catholic secondary schools still have an important role to play in this regard:

> "... the formation of a proper elite, even at a price [of selectivity], is a sound principle which has stood the test of time and one which the teaching orders of the Church would be now slow to jettison" (1964: 426).

From the early days of the twentith century, the emerging network of Catholic schools was maintained largely by the inexpensive labour of Irish nuns and brothers who reinforced the transplanted Irish nationalism of Australian Catholics and thus intensified their "dualistic division of the world into Catholics and non Catholics" (O'Brien, 1977: 132). The very survival of these schools, however, was threatened in the late 1960s and early 1970s when a decline of entrants to the religious Orders and the defection of many religious coincided with swelling school populations. It was at that stage that the long and often bitter battle for "state aid" began to bear fruit.

In Australia, both federal and state government assistance to Catholic schools grew after 1963, increased prodigiously during the period of the Whitlam (Labor) federal government (1972-75), was maintained and then extended by the subsequent Fraser (Liberal) governments (1975-82), and is continuing under the present Hawke (Labor) government. Enrolments in Catholic schools, particularly secondary schools, continue to grow at a time when enrolments in state schools are showing a slight decline. Catholic schools, however, despite increasing state funding, still cannot cope with the numbers seeking entry. Many Catholic pupils are forced to attend non-Catholic schools and so are largely ignored by their Church. Nevertheless, with the security of government financial support, the future of independent Catholic schools seems assured.

The historical relationship between Catholic schools, Catholic consciousness and social mobility has characterised the history of Catholic education in Australia. The purpose of this paper is to place the current, specific circumstances of a single Catholic school within this historical perspective. The focus upon contemporary events thus becomes deeper as they are interpreted not only in the context of competing perceptions which shape them and give them meaning, but also in the light of the history within which Catholic education is framed.

The data upon which the paper is based were generated at Christian Brothers College (CBC), Newburyport, by means of ethnographic methods over a period of more than two years. Techniques included participant observation (Smith, 1979), tape-recorded open-ended interviews (Agar, 1980), classroom observation (Jackson, 1968; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968), participation in school and community social and religious activities (Peshkin, 1978), and analysis of documents such as correspondence, memos, year books (Smith, Prunty, Dwyer, 1981). The accumulation of data accelerated greatly when three other researchers joined Angus in the project (Bates, Smith, Angus, Watkins, 1982).

This paper is concerned with the policy of the Irish Christian Brothers of education for social mobility, and with the implications of that for CBC and for the Newburyport community. The perspectives of reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1974, 1977) provide a useful framework for illuminating and explicating the data. It is found, however, that no simple notion of reproduction is appropriate for the CBC case. Instead, the recent history of CBC's class mission has led to consequences which require critical analysis (Giroux, 1983).

CBC, Highborough, Newburyport: Maintaining a Catholic Identity

CBC is situated in Highborough, Newburyport's most established, prestigious and affluent suburb. From the balcony of the Brothers' residence atop Highborough hill, one looks out across the school's green playing fields, over the entire city and out to the countryside beyond. Although many of CBC's pupils come from the Highborough area, most live elsewhere. On any school morning, boys wearing distinctive CBC blazers of deep navy with gold braid can be seen pedalling bicycles from various parts of Newburyport towards Highborough hill - the ride home after school is always easier. Buses deliver students from the distant suburbs and from outlying towns as far as fifty kilometres away. At the front and rear gates, the buses jostle with family sedans and station wagons as parents drop their boys off for school. Amid the daily chaos a number of Volvos and Mercedes Benz are noticeable amongst the more usual Commodores and Toyotas.

As the pupils enter CBC they are stepping into a tradition. The Irish Christian Brothers, more than any other religious order, have dominated the secondary education of Catholic boys in Australia during the past century. No other order of men ever approached their size or influence. Indeed, despite the many orders of religious brothers, to many Australian Catholics the word "Brothers" signifies only the Congregation of Christian Brothers.

The "Brothers" have had a long association with the provincial city of Newburyport. In the late nineteenth century the Brothers' fledgling Novitiate - the training centre for young men who aspired to become brothers - was situated there. At the turn of the century, the Brothers' first enterprise in Newburyport was their taking over St. John's Orphanage on the outskirts of the city. Later, St. Patrick's parish school was conducted by the Brothers in the city's central area. By 1935, demand for Catholic education for boys of Newburyport was such that Christian Brothers College (CBC), a complete primary and secondary school for boys, owned and operated by the Christian Brothers' order, opened on the grounds of St. John's Orphanage. The orphanage was subsequently removed to premises on the new fringe of the expanding city to make room for the growth of CBC. In the late 1960's CBC's local Newburyport identity was confirmed when its boarding operations were discontinued, according to pupils and teachers of the time, so that more places could be made available for local boys. St. Patrick's parish school gradually evolved into a primary and junior secondary school and later, in the 1950's, as a result of the burgeoning post-war industrial growth of Newburyport, became St. Patrick's Technical School.

The Brothers and the Social Mobility of Catholics

One area of agreement amongst the nine teaching brothers at CBC is that the Christian Brothers in Australia have been particularly successful at educating working class boys for placement in middle class careers. In the first half of the twentieth century this was considered to be of crucial importance in "establishing a Catholic community that could stand on its own feet in all sorts of areas of society" to the point where "these days, now, you have got people with Catholic background as leaders in these groups".

The class mission which is suggested here, however, is much more complex than a simple attempt to ensure that Catholics made good in Australian society. The rationale behind the Brothers' determined policy to educate for upward social mobility has several dimensions - the most fundamental being that concern for working class boys is seen as a direct link with the aim of the founder of the order, Brother Edmund Rice, to assist the needy of early 19th century Ireland. During the first half of this century the Catholic population of Australia was predominantly of Irish extraction and firmly located within the working class - a state of affairs which partly explains the strong demand for Christian Brothers' schools, since the Brothers had previously established a formidable reputation in the country in which the order was founded - Ireland. As Brother Sterling explains:

> [The Christian Brothers in Australia were] targeting in on Irish immigration ... so you would find that we were catering [for the Irish] and that the Irish Catholic priest would bring us and invite us into certain areas.

The Irish background of Australian Catholics predisposed them to rally together to combat the prejudice towards them that was an integral part of a society dominated by the "Established" Church of England (Fogarty, 1959). Doubtless, instances of discrimination, particularly during the depression, did much to reinforce the celebrated "ghetto mentality" of Australian Catholics (Campion, 1982; Selleck, 1978). Brother Gordon recalls that time:

> We did have this move up in socio-economic level of the Catholic, mainly Irish. The problem was getting jobs during the depression - and not only that, there was a lot of sectarianism. There were a number of firms that wouldn't employ Catholics and who would blatantly admit it. It was in the paper which was accompanied by a little suggestion that "no Catholics need apply" - there was no secret about it. You had the Freemason influence as well.

Good examination results were a high priority for Catholic boys to enable them to qualify for entrance to the public service - one means of escaping prejudice in employment. Again, Brother Gordon explains:

> Once [Catholic students] achieved that level of matriculation ... where were they going to get jobs? The answer for a vast majority of those people was the public service because they had nowhere else to go. And the result was that those fellows, who moved into the public service in the 1920's, 30's and 40's, they are occupying the important positions now.

Catholic children in Australia were therefore defined as "needy" - victims of their class location and of widespread discrimination which made examination success and the resultant public service entrance or, later, university scholarships, especially important. The educational mission of the Christian Brothers is thus associated with a mission of justice and the defence of the human dignity of Catholics. All of the brothers at CBC feel some pride or satisfaction in the role that Brothers have played in the social advancement of Catholics. They agree with Brother O'Hara, a veteran of more than forty-five years teaching in Brothers' schools, that:

> ... there are Catholic people now in good positions ... and in their day, without the Brothers' schools, they would not have had that opportunity. They may have had the ability but not the opportunity to get where they are today. And when you look at the founder starting [in 19th century Ireland] - there were so many poor and they couldn't get jobs and there was no education for them. So he did what he could then to help the poor to sort of get some status.

But the religious component of an attempt to shift the class location of Catholics is more complex yet. Brother Gordon explains the nexus between social advancement and religious and moral influence:

> It was an aim that was being tackled by the bishops and the Brothers were just working under their directions. It was also to enable Catholics to move into positions of influence ... so that the message of Jesus might be hard in those areas.

Brother Sterling places the need for such moral leadership and Catholic witness in a modern context:

> If those [educated Catholics] then have the money behind them, the know-how and the expertise, for example to get into public office - for example, we will say in the medical field - there are so many points that are raised in the medical field these days. Now, have you got people with Catholic background leaders in these groups? ... If we haven't got people educated in all these fields that can lead us, we have fallen down. For example, in the university. Now, if you have got a few people with fairly high moral standards in the university they can sort of project ... comments ... that can be used to counteract others that are not so moral.

Interviews with all of the brothers at CBC are punctuated by references to the founder and claims that the Christian Brothers have continued in Australia the work which he began in Ireland. They link the drive for the social advancement of Australian Catholics with his mission of assisting the needy. Brother Hourigan, for instance, echoes the sentiments of his colleagues, all of whom are unqualified in their approval of the service that their order has afforded Catholics:

> [The Brothers] had to get students into positions. You know, most of them were from working class families ... [and] the idea was to get them to pass exams and get them into the public service and so on ... And what has happened of course is that Catholics have got into these positions ... and now they have become middle class.

The pattern of producing a Catholic middle class is illustrated by the example of CBC. The explicit purpose of its establishment was to assist Catholics to gain access to positions from which they had been largely debarred in the early decades of the century due to their working class location and the almost exclusively Anglo Protestant nature of secondary education. The school quickly gained a reputation for rigid discipline, examination success, and an emphasis upon the class relocation of its pupils.

CBC and the Relocation of Newburyport Catholics

Brother Jim Bourke is one of the few who remembers the opening of CBC in 1935. He was then on the staff of St. John's Orphanage which occupied the choice site that was to become CBC. According to Brother Bourke, Newburyport Catholics have been extremely loyal to the school:

> The Brothers have been in Newburyport for a long time and there are a tremendous number of old families, old Catholic families ... And they went to the Brothers' school and that was the only school they ever thought of.

Thus, the image of CBC that parents are perceived to support was established during a time of Catholic press for social advancement. Brother Bourke suggests that the Christian Brothers and their new school were accepted uncritically by parents who strongly supported Catholic education. Christian Brothers' traditions, then, were perpetuated amongst Newburyport Catholics and very definite expectations of CBC developed. Brother Bourke has no doubt that, from the start, the students of the newly established CBC did not mix with the inmates of St. John's Orphanage, even though they shared the Highborough site for more than three years:

Question: So you were here actually when CBC and St. John's were sharing?

Br Bourke: Yes, CBC started in '35. There was one of my great friends, Brother Smith, who died a couple of years ago ... Four of them lived down at St. Patrick's School and came up each day - Brother Barlow was the first headmaster, Brother Andrews, Brother Moten and Brother Smith - and they had that part over there near the chapel. That was their schoolroom section.

Question: So there was not much mixing of the two groups of children?

Br Bourke: Not at all. Well they might have, but officially - no. And then at the end of '38, we (St. John's Orphanage) moved out. We spent all the Christmas holidays carting beds and all that kind of stuff out there [to the new site].

Now formally and physically separated from the orphanage, CBC's independent identity was further reinforced soon afterwards when St. Patrick's School, in response to the rapid growth of giant industries in Newburyport, became St. Patrick's Technical School. While St. Patrick's catered for Catholic tradesmen at the local level, CBC, high upon Highborough hill, became known as the place which prepared Newburyport Catholic youth for public examinations and for entry to white-collar employment. The success of CBC and other Brothers' schools in this regard has become part of the folklore that has been handed down to younger members of the order:

Br Dowsett: The older brothers ... were brought up very much in the times when they had to more or less sustain Catholic education in lots of ways and they had to encourage good results in the students so that they could get on.

Question: What do you mean by that?

Br Dowsett: Well, ... I think of brothers perhaps 30 or 40 years ago establishing a Catholic community that could stand on its own feet socially and in all sorts of areas of society - professions and that sort of thing - in days when Catholics were more conspicuous by their absence in those fields.

Brother Dowsett's recollections of a competitive academic emphasis when he was a pupil at a Brothers' school some fifteen years ago are shared by many teachers at CBC, a number of whom are graduates of the school:

Br Dowsett: When I was at [school] there was a lot of emphasis on studying hard because you had to get along in life. You had to study to do well in exams, scholarships and those sorts of things.

Cameron Pont suggests that, at CBC, "the whole school has been geared towards academic achievement". The determinedly academic orientation was the logical result of the ambitious aim of shifting the class location of Catholics. This involved not so much the rarified pursuit of intellectual excellence, however, as a more pragmatic scramble for the credentials that were needed for entry into the public service and tertiary education.

Resistance and reproduction

It is important that the radical element of CBC's mission is not overlooked. The attempt to transform the Newburyport social structure by creating within it a Catholic middle class involved elements of resistance to Protestant discrimination and to the historical Protestant domination of secondary education and white collar employment. On the other hand, however, the combined efforts of the Brothers and the Newburyport Catholic community to "have Catholic people in influential situations in the town" was restricted to contesting the arrangement of relative positions within a social hierarchy that was not itself challenged. The social ladder was there to be climbed by those of sufficient talent who were prepared to make the necessary effort - the Brothers providing whatever extra push they could:

Br McKie:	Some of these poorer boys found it hard to get jobs and the Public Service was a bit of a boon to them in those days.
Question:	And they took some type of Civil Service Exam?
Br McKie:	Some kind of an exam. The brothers would dedicate some extra time to try and coach them up for them.
Question:	So, in effect, they could get a slightly better job?
Br McKie:	Yes, they'd get steady jobs. They'd move up a bit along the line.
Question:	Would that be another part of the traditions in the Brothers' schools?
Br McKie:	It would be, yes, going right back, to try and help the poorer boys to improve.

The oppositional nature of CBC education is still regarded by some brothers as something more than just an historical tradition. Brother Ernest, for instance, who was recently transferred to CBC from a Brothers' school in a relatively affluent metropolitan area, believes that the "beligerence" of Catholics, which was a reaction to religious prejudice and their working class

location, is "still there in their concern for their socio-economic status". He regards teaching at CBC as a "challenge" and explains that:

> An important function of CBC and part of the tradition which is the mission of the Brothers is to assist the boys at CBC to obtain employment and socio-economic advantage in this unfavourable economic climate.

Brother Ernest detects a "Newburyport stamp" upon many of his charges at CBC. He believes that the industrial nature of Newburyport leads to a certain anti-intellectualism and that this in turn leads to a negative classroom atmosphere. A lack of refinement in Newburyport suburbs, which he feels is illustrated by a low level of civic pride and poor standards of maintenance of houses and gardens, is noticeable, too, he says, in CBC classrooms. A group of year 12 students, for instance, had been engaged in a competition during his lessons with them to see who of them could pass wind most loudly and long. With regard to such boys he claims:

> We have to serve these kids against the inclinations of their own nature.

Brother Ernest believes that the marked difference that he has noted between the boys of CBC and those of his previous school has "resulted from their past experience". The difference is one of "dispositions, of maturity of ideas and readiness to express those ideas". The challenge of teaching at CBC is, for Brother Ernest, to penetrate and overwhelm the "class culture of Newburyport" by giving pupils the "academic advantage" and cultural resources that will "foist" them into the middle class.

CBC and the Job Market

The harsh reality of life in an industrial city in a period of economic recession is that employment of any sort, much less white-collar or professional employment, is difficult to come by. Nevertheless, according to the careers teacher at CBC, the school still holds a mystique for many parents:

Bruce Smith: A lot of [parents] are under the impression that because their son goes here [to CBC] he automatically becomes a professional. It is automatic. This is why you pay fees to send the kid here. When I was a student here myself (twelve years ago) it was a real overriding principle with the parents and some of the kids.

Question: With increasing unemployment in Newburyport do they realise that it just doesn't happen - or that they are lucky to get a job at all?

Bruce Smith: ... They might have to go down a few rungs to get it but they will get jobs sooner or later.

The feeling amongst many teachers, especially those who teach senior classes, is that CBC's mystique is such that parents' expectations are often unrealistic:

Peter Montini: The parents would like their boys to pursue an academic type career or something to do with the pure sciences and medicine, law and economics. The parents have often got that sort of ambition but it is an unrealistic ambition ... Well, they think, "It will be all fixed up there [at CBC]. He is pretty weak but they will fix him up. They will sort of put him through and he will end up a doctor or whatever." That is an expectation that parents have often ... I think that parents send their sons here because they would like them to end up in university and not because they would like them to end up as a carpenter or a plumber.

The feeling that is shared from the headmaster down at CBC is that the school's teachers do a good job with pupils considering the material that they have to work with. Brother Carter draws a stark comparison with Newburyport's premier independent school:

Br Carter: [We are] basically trying to give to Catholic boys what these boys are getting at Newburyport Grammar and these other "public" schools - but not using the same material. You see, some of the boys we have are just slightly removed from what you might call crude levels of existence at home and they have parents who have had very little education.

Question: So in effect you are drawing kids of working class parents who are aspiring, and middle class parents who want their children to move another notch up in the ...?

Br Carter: Right. And some of them of course are not aspiring at all. There's nothing at home that's helping them really aspire. There is no: "You must be a doctor as your grandfather is a doctor, you must be this or that." They have a very low level of aspiration.

Brother Carter believes that, compared to Newburyport Grammar School:

> We are in a different class altogether. These would be from the very rich ... By and large [the parents] would be people who have been to Newburyport Grammar and who know the value of being able to say "I went to Grammar" and could have some of the lodge effect in business. You would have people from very cultured families, and by that I mean a couple of generations of cultured families ... By and large I think it is a fair thing to say that the Catholics in Australia are not the cultured class by any means.

Most of those associated with CBC believe with Brother Carter that Catholics are not, indeed, the cultured class around Newburyport. Brother Carter, however, might be stretching a point when he suggests that some CBC pupils are only "slightly removed" from "crude levels of existence at home". Teachers generally believe that their students come from extremely diverse socio-economic backgrounds, and that the parents of these pupils regard a CBC education as an important asset in the job market.

Question: What kind of people send their children here?

Heather Verdun: A very broad spectrum, I suppose. Some of the people are quite affluent, real middle class, in business and so on ... A lot of others would be very basic working class people ... I still think that, from outside, CBC is seen as <u>the</u> Catholic boys' school to send your boy to, and sometimes I think they think that by sending him to CBC it is

> almost like a passport to success. ... You know, I think even in the business community there must be something about CBC or students of CBC who are seen to be perhaps better material than kids coming from high schools.

CBC's image or "mystique" works in favour of its pupils, it seems, when it comes to getting jobs in the town. In a follow-up of last year's exit group, Jim Karn, the co-ordinator of the school's Transition from School to Work program, found that only two or three failed to gain employment. Yet youth unemployment in Newburyport is currently running at 25%.

Of course, since CBC has been operating since 1935 with an explicit purpose to enable Catholics to penetrate white-collar employment, one would expect that success in this mission would result in a significant Catholic presence in the professions and executive management in Newburyport. Such appears to be the case. Brother Carter was observed to make extensive use of an elaborate Catholic network when dealing with banks, insurance companies and building contractors in order to negotiate arrangements regarding the refurbishing of part of the school. The existence of such a network provides CBC's own "lodge effect" - not as widely spread as that associated with Newburyport Grammar School, but nevertheless powerful within the local Newburyport area. The careers teacher, himself born in Newburyport and a former pupil of CBC, has discovered that many current school leavers get jobs because of old boys:

> [Many] are 38 or 40, just rising to the top in their jobs as executives; others are in their 50's now so ... they just look after the old school tie.

CBC and the status hierarchy

The success of CBC pupils in the job market cannot be explained simply by the patronage of old boys who look after their own, however. Brother Carter

and others suggest that training in simple social skills and attitudes in courtesy, politeness, promptness, obedience and responsibility is not left to the hidden curriculum but is an essential part of education at CBC. This, too, pays off in jobs for CBC boys - as Jim Karn has learnt from visiting personnel officers to arrange work experience:

> They are prepared to take our kids because they believe our kids are conditioned to a little bit of discipline; they are used to a uniform, they are used to getting their hair cut - all these fairly bloody superficial reasons if you like, if you really want to look at them. But our kids are getting jobs like that in preference to perhaps kids at the tech. So the skills that the kids from the techs. have got from form one don't seem relevant any more to the big industries.

CBC's reputation for discipline and compliance wins jobs for its pupils.

But although CBC's status in Newburyport is formidable, it does not come close to that which is afforded Newburyport's Protestant colleges. Their prestige and national reputation is sufficient that parents in increasing numbers are prepared to pay the fees of well over $3,000 a year (compared to CBC's relatively modest $450) as an investment in their children's education.

It is small wonder, then, that some of the more upwardly mobile and affluent Catholic parents of Newburyport, themselves educated for social mobility by the Brothers, now choose to send their sons to Newburyport College or Newburyport Grammar instead of to CBC. Indications are that almost fifteen percent of boys attending these Protestant colleges are Catholics. Many old boys of CBC and the brothers, themselves, feel that the failure of these Catholics to support CBC is a sign of gross disloyalty. Councillor Polson, Mayor of Newburyport and a prominent old boy of CBC, expresses the loyalty to the Brothers that is common in Newburyport:

> One thing I have always been proud of, and always will be proud of, is that I received a Christian Brothers' education - and there's no better education available.

Councillor Polson is thankful to the Brothers for "making me what I am today" and is critical of his classmates, "so many of whom, now that they are successful, send their boys to other schools". The clear inference is that these ex-pupils owe their "success" to CBC and should continue to support it. But on the status hierarchy, CBC is some rungs below the Protestant colleges. CBC, therefore, loses some clients to the more exclusive schools, but only to gain others from some rungs further down the ladder. According to Brother Jones:

> You see, historically, we are in a different phase. You can see it very much here [at CBC] ... I am teaching the sons of the people who went to school down there [at St. Patrick's Technical School] and now they have got two bob to rattle so they think they will send their kids to CBC.

Thus, the class mission continues.

The passing of the "first wave"

Informal surveys conducted in a third of CBC secondary classrooms indicate that the fathers of most pupils attended CBC schools. Interestingly, many of them attended St. Patrick's Technical School, as Brother Jones indicated, from where they gained apprenticeships and became tradesmen. The result of these parents enrolling boys at CBC, when coupled with the flight of a large portion of upper, professional groups to the prestigious Protestant schools, is spelled out by Cameron Pont, whose continuous association with CBC and the Brothers is longer than that of any other staff member:

> Ten or twelve years ago the people who came to this school were ... fairly comfortable financially. They were solicitors and doctors. Now that population has changed [and] we are having the plumber and the plasterer, the carpenter and the craftsman ... who form the bulk of the population of the school.

Cameron talks about those Catholics who attended CBC some years ago and who have achieved financial and social success - people like Councillor Polson - as the "first wave" of Catholics:

> The school has made strong moves to make sure that these people, make sure that the first wave of Catholics were well looked after and they were well supported and they were pushed into influential positions.

The sons of these early pupils attended CBC in its heyday when the school was supported by a Catholic nouveau riche that had been, to a large extent according to Councillor Polson, Cameron Pont and the CBC Brothers, created by CBC itself. The gradual loss of support of that group for CBC made way for the "second wave" of Catholics:

Cameron Pont: CBC is not supplying the social needs of that community, it seems to me ... Such numbers are moving away from CBC to Newburyport Grammar and Newburyport College, and people clearly say that they want their boys to go into that social climate and social environment. And they can afford that.

Some boys are transferred from CBC to the Protestant colleges at the end of year 6. Like Councillor Polson, Cameron Pont is displeased that so many leave CBC:

Cameron Pont: Those people ... are talking about $1,000 [per term] - they are generally professional people who are able to afford that. I think that we have felt it as something of a slight on our education here that the professional people have chosen to go off.

Question: If you looked at their initial entrance exam scores, would they be in your high group?

Cameron Pont: In most cases they have been in the above average group.

Question: So you are losing some of your academically better students?

Cameron Pont: Oh, yes.

Cameron also points out that, just as some Catholic parents send their boys to Newburyport Grammar School for reasons of prestige, so do many of the second wave of Catholics send boys to CBC in order to acquire whatever social and cultural resources, more limited but also more accessible than those of the Protestant colleges, that CBC can confer:

> People do send their children down there [to Newburyport Grammar] for social reasons. They also send them up here [to CBC] for social reasons because other schools have said that we are elitist at CBC - the twelve parochial feeder schools into our senior school have said that we are elitist up here.

There is currently some feeling between the local Parish primary schools and CBC. These parochial schools lose some 35 boys in years 3 and 4, and 70 boys in years 5 and 6 to the primary section of CBC. As co-ordinator of the primary section, Cameron Pont has a number of arguments which he uses to rebut the suggestions that the CBC junior school should be closed. One of his strongest arguments is his counter to the charge that CBC is elitist. He claims that a touch of elitism about CBC is necessary to restrict the drift of pupils to the even more elite Protestant colleges - all of which have primary sections. He suggests that recent history in Newburyport illustrates that any move to close the CBC Junior School would result in significant numbers of children "being lost to Catholic education":

Cameron Pont: Loretto Hall Junior School phased out about eight years ago hop[ing] that the girls would be retained in their parish schools [but] when they looked at figures over the years there was no significant increase in parish primary schools in the figures for girls following the phasing out of Loretto Hall.

Question: Where did the kids go?

Cameron Pont: I think that they chose to go to Queen's [Presbyterian] College and Anglican Ladies' School.

Question: So, ... there are some parents of those young girls who want some kind of specialised independent education rather than parish education or state school education?

Cameron Pont: I think that is true.

Question: Would that be true of the boys also?

Cameron Pont: That is one of the fears that people have at CBC - that would happen if CBC Junior School were to be phased out.

Question: Some of them might end up in Newburyport Grammar primary school and stay right on in Newburyport Grammar all the way through?

Cameron Pont Yes, that is a problem that we see ... We are concerned [about it] here at CBC but other people in Newburyport may not feel that way.

The loss of these little boys to the Protestant Colleges means also the loss of influential parents. Moreover, the loss of the most promising academic prospects is a blow to future examination statistics. More and more, it appears, CBC is being left with a fairly stable group of lower middle class families.

Elitism and exclusion

Suggestions of elite education at CBC are not usually welcomed by staff members, although Peter Montini, who returned to the school as a teacher upon completion of his university degree, believes that CBC's status has declined since his days as a student there:

> I think a few parents [are attracted to CBC] for status in one way - sort of, "So and so's son is there so my son is going to go there also" - but I don't think it has that awe that it used to have when a boy said, "I am going to that school", and it was a big thing.

Vestiges of elitism remain at CBC, however, despite some claims to the contrary and despite the loss of some parents from high status professions. The very location of the school upon what is arguably Newburyport's choicest piece of real estate sits uneasily with the professed aim of helping poor boys. The meticulous reinforcement of rules governing the correct wearing of

the school uniform suggests an attempt to ensure that CBC boys are marked off from the common herd. Brother Carter is especially diligent in this regard. He makes a point of being in the school quadrangle at 8.30 am each morning and checks the dress of pupils as they arrive. Teachers are instructed to inspect the dress of the boys before dismissing them at the end of the school day. Pupils then must again meet Brother Carter's fastidious scrutiny as they pass by him at the school gate. Attention to the details of their accoutrement has earned for Brother Carter the nickname of "mother" from them.

Apart from these trappings of elitism, however, CBC practices exclusion in at least three ways.

Firstly, although the fees are modest, they are sufficient to exclude some of Newburyport's least affluent Catholics. And although fees may be waived in cases of hardship, few parents seem prepared to request such special consideration.

Secondly, pupils must qualify for entrance to the school by passing a "Test of Learning Aptitude" - an intelligence measuring instrument produced by A.C.E.R. Thus, students who are measured as academically less able - usually those from low socio-economic backgrounds, given the cultural bias of intelligence tests (Karier, 1972) - are screened out. This, too, seems rather at odds with the Brothers' somewhat romantic mission of "service to the needy".

The third method of exclusion is more subtle and many teachers at CBC are not even aware of it - the teacher of Italian, for instance, certainly is not:

Interviewer:	Is there any way that you can use parents with Italian?
Marie Campagna:	Well, there aren't many [Italian parents]. I was thinking of that, I was hoping that there would be, but I would say there are only about two boys in each class of Italian parents.
Interviewer:	[But] there is quite a substantial Italian community [in Newburyport].

Marie Campagna: That is what I thought. I was very shocked when I got here. I imagine in the higher levels of the school that there are more Italians - [but in] the lower forms not many at all.

Interviewer: Newburyport had a pretty big wave of immigration in the 50's and 60's ... so I would have thought that there would have been quite a few children.

Marie Campagna: Well, that is what I thought, too. At Loretto Hall [Catholic girls' school] there is a fairly large population of Italians and other ethnic cultures.

Interviewer: What do you think happens to the boys?

Marie Campagna: I thought most of them would be here but they are not.

The simple answer to the mystery of what happens to Italian boys is that they are restricted from entry to CBC by means of a zoning requirement. Those who live in Newburyport's southern and western suburbs or points anywhere beyond may attend CBC. The majority of Italian and other immigrants live in the less affluent northern suburbs of Newburyport and their Catholic children are zoned to a Catholic secondary school, Vianney College, in that area. Many also attend St. Patrick's Technical School or state secondary schools. The somewhat denser sprinkling of Italian and Eastern European names on the rolls of the senior classes is accounted for by the fact that Vianney's curriculum terminates at year 10. Many of the more promising students then transfer across to CBC to attempt years 11 and 12. CBC's academic standards, therefore, are doubly protected.

A modest job on modest people

Teachers who come to work at CBC are sometimes surprised that, given CBC's reputation and academic orientation, there is little evidence of affluence:

Bernadette Healy: I was really surprised ... I would have thought they would have been more affluent. I learnt since that [affluent Catholics] send their children to Newburyport Grammar - the very affluent in Newburyport would prefer to send them there. I think there is one solicitor and one teacher and a mother that works at Newburyport C.A.E. Oh, there is a social worker, too, but they are mainly, you know, truck drivers and shop keepers and clerks and ...

Question: Small tradesmen?

Bernadette Healy: Yes, that type of thing.

The breakdown of occupations of parents - in most cases the fathers, since few of the mothers are employed outside the home - of pupils in Bernadette's class is typical of CBC as a whole and matches the more extensive survey that was conducted by Bruce Smith, the careers teacher:

> I sent home a newsletter to all the parents [and asked them] to put down their occupations; and the average occupation that came back was in the trades business, trade working class area. The amount of doctors, teachers, lawyers [in the] response was very low in comparison to the worker. I looked at that and I thought, "What are those kids really doing here? Do they understand that they are all not going to be academics?"

The difficulty of getting students to "move up a little bit along the line" has increased in recent years of economic contraction. Thus, the "second wave" of Catholics at CBC can expect a less accelerated rise through the socio-economic hierarchy than the first. Nevertheless, it is clear that almost all of these boys do get jobs - most at least maintain, and some even improve, their position by means of CBC's academic reputation, its old boy network, and local regard for the manners and discipline that CBC is thought to bestow. CBC students are apparently aware of the obstacles to social advancement in difficult economic times and have set their sights accordingly:

Bruce Smith: When the kids sat down and filled out their preferences [for work experience placements], of the 115 that went out there were 61 of them with trade oriented ambitions ... They were carpentry, fitting and turning was popular, chefs was very popular, electricians, plumbers, boiler makers, panel beaters - those sorts of trades ... The amount of kids putting down straight law, or medical careers, and teaching was very few.

Some parents, who have high expectations of CBC, are dissatisfied with the work experience choices of their sons:

Bruce Smith: I rang up one mother and said, "I have got your son a job as an electrician." "He is not taking that, my son. I am not sending him to CBC to be an electrician." So you have you that comeback from the parents, too.

Perhaps that particular mother was one that Brother Jones had in mind when he said of the Catholic parents:

> There is still too much of this, "If I send the boy to CBC 'the brothers' - and than means everybody out there [at CBC] - if they wave a wand then John will get his HSC and he will be a marvellous kid as a result.

The belief of staff members that many parents have unrealistic expectations of CBC has already been noted. So has the general feeling amongst teachers that the pupils receive good service. A teacher of senior physics classes relates this latter point to the socio-economic background of students:

Lachlan West: I see it very much ... as certainly the middle class spectrum, very clearly and sharply, now. We certainly don't have people from very low economic or social background and we generally don't have the upper ones either.

Question: Does the college technically meet the needs of that groups of kids?

Lachlan West: I think it does. I think on a dollar basis, too, we do a very good modest job on modest people - and I am not putting people down - and we do that excellently I think. We don't have any of the frills of a lot of other establishments - for instance, we really don't have any art to talk about, and there is no music eduation ... and there is lots of others things we don't even have.

With the lower levels excluded by zoning regulations and the T.O.L.A. barrier, and the upper levels seeking the nationally negotiable cultural benefits of the Protestant colleges, CBC is left with the middle stratum of Newburyport's Catholic society. Given this, and the no-frills curriculum, Lachlan argues that CBC compares more than favourably with Newburyport's much more expensive Protestant independent schools:

> When you consider what we start out with and what we get [in HSC pass rates] we're probably more successful than they are.

Such comparisons are by no means idle ones. While the Protestant Colleges are more nationally oriented, CBC's reputation does not extend much beyond Newburyport. But the negotiable value of a CBC education is, to some extent at least, calculated against a standard of comparison with the more elite schools.

HSC and entrance to university

HSC pass rates are considered in Newburyport and elsewhere to be important indicators of a school's worth. Once HSC results are released in any year, word quickly spreads through the communities associated with Newburyport's schools and comparisons are made. The CBC results are usually discussed in relation to those of the Protestant Colleges and Brother Carter has actively and selectively advertised the results when they have reflected favourably upon CBC.

Of course, a pass in HSC is a basic requisite for any student who wishes to proceed to tertiary studies, and there is no doubt amongst CBC members that the school's curriculum is geared towards HSC. The point is put forcefully by the science coordinator who is a former CBC pupil:

Question: If I really wanted to get a sense of what the school is about, is there anywhere you would direct me in particular? What should I look at in particular?

Peter Montini: I am not very clear on what you mean by 'What is the school about?' See, as far as I understand it, the school is about putting the [pupils] through H.S.C. - and that is the ultimate aim as far as I can tell based on what I have heard the headmaster say in past years and so on. So I think, really, if someone wanted to find out what the school is about, I think they would look at the subjects offered in Year 12 ... and look at the type of pass rates ... I think, basically, that is what the school is based on. Everything seems to aim for H.S.C.

It was noted earlier that throughout CBC's history, "the whole school has been geared towards academic achievement." Encouraging students to attempt university courses is linked by Brother Carter and others to the Brothers' historical mission of improving the social and economic position of Catholics in Australian society. It was also noted that such an orientation includes an acceptance of the view that Australian society is essentially meritocratic - talent and effort are the ingredients for success and the job of the Brothers was and is to ensure that talent is not wasted:

Brother Jones: Certainly you have got to have labourers ... but if they have got the talent then they have got to have the chance to use it.

Question: Is that still an important element?

Brother Jones: I am sure it is. I very much believe that you should push [every student] as far as you can and if possible get his matric.

And as more and more Catholics enter the universities and then the professions, others are encouraged to compete for positions of status. Brother O'Hara saw this happen at his previous school and encouraged it:

> When I went to St. Peter's first, ... a couple of fellows were going for medicine then. After I got there a couple of years we got close to ten applying and getting in to university ... We did help them over a bit and it tends to build up a bit of a tradition. If we do get a few through then others, who perhaps didn't quite have that drive, they see what Brothers can do and then they sort of come in behind, too.

Despite the emphasis upon year 12 and HSC, however, fewer than a third of CBC pupils go on to tertiary education, and many of those attend Newburyport C.A.E. and so remain in the area. For many students, completion of year 12 eases access to banks, offices and Newburyport retail industries as places of employment. Thus the sense of localism, which is strongly present about CBC, makes for cohesiveness within the school and eventual integration into the Newburyport occupational world.

Summary

CBC was established by the Christian Brothers as part of an attempt to shift, through education, the class location of Australian Irish Catholics. That early commitment had a strong radical element of contestation of the Anglo Protestant dominance of secondary education, white collar employment and the professions. The radical nature of the attempt was from the start, however, flawed and partial in that the predominant meritocratic view of Australian society was not challenged. Rather than demanding class justice, Australian Catholics, largely Irish and working class, sought to win dignity by escaping from their class through the aggressively competitive education that was offered by schools like CBC.

In Newburyport, the Catholic community has strongly supported the Brothers' mission of education for class relocation and CBC Brothers are proud of the service that they and their colleagues have provided. In recent years, however, an increasing number of Newburyport's more affluent and upwardly mobile Catholics, themselves educated for social mobility at CBC, now send their own sons to more prestigious Protestant colleges. Between ten and fifteen percent of the enrolment of one of these schools, the fees for which are over $1,000 per term, is Catholic. As a consequence, those who have been

associated with CBC for some time have noticed that the composition of CBC has changed. In the halcyon days the products of the "first wave" of Catholics to be educated at CBC, those who became "fairly comfortable financially" in Newburyport, enrolled their sons at CBC and gave to the school added status and even "awe". The gradual loss of this group to the Protestant Colleges - a loss that will be even greater if CBC's primary section goes, according to many at the school - has left CBC catering now for a relatively stable lower middle class stratum of Newburyport Catholics. An entrance "qualifying" examination (T.O.L.A.), and zoning regulations, however, effectively screen from CBC the academically less able and children from less affluent areas of Newburyport, many of whom are from migrant families. Such exclusion seems very much at odds with the proudly stated mission of the Christian Brothers of serving the "needy".

A sense of service remains, nevertheless in that many at the school - especially some of the Brothers - believe that by providing a CBC education they are enhancing the job prospects of their pupils. Despite a curriculum that is oriented towards year 12 and the HSC examination, less than a third of the students proceed to tertiary education. The remainder are split between those who find white collar work and those who attain employment in trades areas. The point is that virtually all of CBC school leavers who seek employment get jobs - and almost all of them within the local district. While perhaps not quite the "passport to success" that some parents imagine it to be, CBC's local identity and reputation for discipline and an academic orientation, and extensive localised "old boy" network, enable the sons of many Catholic families to maintain and even improve their position in Newburyport's social and economic system.

But the sense of service that remains at CBC has long lost the radical element that once sustained it. The contestation of Protestant domination of society and the attempt to ensure social justice to Catholics by altering

their class location has itself been transformed. The social hierarchy is taken as given and the place of Catholics in its middle reaches is to be maintained. The business of CBC, according to the principal and many teachers, is to fit its students for entry into those levels. The mission of service, therefore, has become a conservative reproductive mission - one of equipping middle class Catholics to take their places in a predominantly middle class society.

Discussion

Catholic schools like CBC, then, have played a major part in the class struggle of Catholics, once predominantly Irish and working class.

Catholic secondary schools, in particular, are the products of a traditional emphasis upon improving the social lot of the Catholic population. The Irish working class and, later European migrants have used the schools as avenues to the professions and white-collar employment. Over the generations, however, the fierceness with which examination success was pursued seems to have resulted in the Catholic schools' identification with the middle class values that facilitate social mobility. The academic orientation and emphasis upon examination results ensured social mobility despite widespread prejudice. Ironically, however, the very success of Catholic schools in promoting social mobility may have ultimately alienated Catholics from their class origins. By positively embracing and reinforcing the middle class attitudes that are essential for the social mobility of Catholic children, teachers in Catholic schools attempt to prepare children to take their places in the dominant society without questioning it. Thus, some Catholics see ...

> "little evidence of Church schools forming a new man, rather than the man required by, and fitting into, the established order" (Buckhorn, 1979: 113).

This trend has been exacerbated in recent years by the fact that the substantial minority of Catholic children who do not attend Catholic schools tend to come from the poorer, working-class Catholic families (O'Donnell, 1967; Crudden, 1972). Thus, Catholic schools now tend to cater for that section of Catholic society which is already more privileged (Selleck, 1971; Praetz, 1982). This is especially the case for secondary schools like CBC. Thus, it can be argued, the Christian message, instead of provoking analysis of the justice of human relationships, including class relationships, has become merely an agent of social integration (Bates et al., 1982; Watkins, 1984).

The internalisation of values that are held dear by capital leads to jobs and, although less so in times of economic contraction than expansion, to promotion within the firm (Salaman, 1979; Collins, 1979; Edwards, 1979). Thus, even though CBC leavers may "go down a few rungs" from the lofty expectations of some of their parents, for the present they are getting jobs while many of their contemporaries from other schools, state high and technical schools, are missing out. At the local level, however, this may have less to do with the "academic advantage" that Brother Ernest believes CBC confers on pupils than with a cultural ethos of discipline and compliance that is valued by both the school and the firm. Again, therefore, the radical moment in the ongoing attempt to transform the socio-economic location of Catholics, while not entirely lost, is considerably diluted since the educational mission of CBC promotes compliance with capital and embraces an uncritical view of present social and economic structures within which individuals compete for places. Thus, the rungs of the social ladder can be gained only by outreaching contemporaries. Other individuals are challenged and not the social hierarchy.

The concept of "cultural capital" is very significant in CBC's case. Pierre Bourdieu (1974, 1977) uses this term to convey the manner in which the values, dispositions and culture of dominant social groups can be transacted in much the same way as economic capital. Capitalist society is so structured as to reward the possessors of appropriate cultural traits. In schools, the culture of dominant groups is taken for granted as the legitimate culture. Hence the reproductive nature of schools derives from their tendency to treat all children as if they had equal access to the cultural capital that is possessed by the dominant group (Harker, 1984). The dominance of such groups is thus preserved as their children cash in their cultural capital in schools. But as Harker points out:

> "For an individual from a non-dominant background to succeed ... the appropriate cultural capital has to be acquired" (1984).

It is in this latter sense that the role of CBC in the production as well as the re-production of "the cultural commodities needed by a corporate society" (Apple, 1982: 45) becomes especially significant.

As Watkins (1984) argues:

> "Bourdieu perceived that with the development of capitalism, reproduction has become more dependent on cultural assets or cultural capital instead of inherited wealth. These cultural assets were also perceived as important by the Christian Brothers in their self-appointed task of facilitating the entry of working class Catholics into the "middle class" of Protestant society. Schools like CBC therefore attempted to ensure that poor Catholics could overcome their lack of wealth and property by the acquisition of specific cultural assets".

This paper has demonstrated that CBC has had and is having considerable success in this regard. But it is also clear that in a larger sense CBC has, in the process, helped to cement what Bourdieu calls the "symbolic domination" of economic/cultural elites. This is because:

> "... even when [the school] does not manage to provide the opportunity for appropriating the dominant culture, it can at least inculcate recognition of the legitimacy of this culture and of those who have the means of appropriating it. Symbolic domination accompanies and redoubles economic domination" (Bourdieu, Boltanski and de Saint-Martin, 1978: 217).

That is to say, the meritocratic myth upon which an inequitable hierarchical society is based is legitimated and reinforced by schools like CBC. Moreover, in the effort to move up the ladder by gaining educational capital, "working class pupils ... have exchanged working class capital for their educational capital which is [now] their sole possession" (Harker, 1984). Working class pupils who battle their way through to year 12 at CBC may well become lost to the working class. Thus, Catholic secondary schools have played a substantial part in the fragmentation of the Australian working class. This has denied it its potential political force. Education at CBC, although oppositional at first, never developed a truly "radical significance" (Giroux, 1983). Instead, the case of CBC illustrates the dialectical nature of esistance. The logic that informs the attempt to raise the social and economic standing of Catholics in Newburyport, in opposition to historical Anglo and Protestant domination, is itself rooted in the premises of capitalist rationality. CBC's very "success" has rendered it no longer oppositional. Upwardly mobile Catholics have formed, as it were, a "class fraction" which in Newburyport comprises now a lower-middle to middle class group with links to CBC, predominantly, and to other Catholic schools.

There is little doubt that CBC is perceived as conferring the "cultural capital" and establishing the old boy network necessary to facilitate employment and advancement in the local Newburyport area (Watkins, 1984). The more exclusive and expensive Newburyport private Protestant schools, however, are seen to confer even more status upon their clients than CBC does. Moreover, the extensive social networks associated with the prestigious

Protestant schools ensure that their pupils are equipped with cultural capital that is more readily negotiable and more widely redeemable than that which CBC can provide. Thus, many of Newburyport's more affluent Catholics, in many cases educated for social mobility by the Brothers, and now increasingly assimilated into the dominant culture by a process of "embourgeoisement" (Bourdieu, 1977), favour these elite schools for Australia's "ruling class" (Connell et al., 1982).

Because the Catholic schools, especially secondary schools like CBC, now cater generally for the more affluent Catholics, actively embracing the values of the dominant class inhibits any critical analysis of Australian society and of the Catholic school as the product of that society. The possibilities of alternative social arrangements and their political consequences, and the morality of existing and future power structures, are unlikely to be explored if teachers see Catholic schools as a means of reproducing rather than challenging the status quo.

Critics of the existing Catholic education system, therefore, suggest that in the late twentieth century:

> "... those who proclaim the Gospel message do so from a position within a stratified society, and that, whatever those proclaiming it may think about it, it is being proclaimed to a dominated class from within a dominant class, the very opposite of what happend in the beginning" (Leavey, 1980: 40).

To counter such criticism, it is suggested, Catholic schools should be concerned less with simple evangelisation and social mobility, and more with genuine liberation which would involve a critical analysis of the Catholic school as the product of society (Leavey, 1980), and of the political implications of pursuing social justice (Flood, 1979; Edwards, 1976). As Leavey points out:

> "Assuming that any society has a dominant ideology, [critical analysis] seeks to identify the elements of that ideology and the people, groups, forces favoured by that ideology ... In spite of our consumerism and indifference ... many people are deeply concerned by these questions and certainly want the school to be a 'critical evaluation' of society and not just a means of replicating the present power structures" (1980: 42).

Such Catholic educationalists would emphasise that the Church has a role to play in social protest as well as in social integration (Leavey, 1980; Houtard and Rousseau, 1971; Flood, 1979; Noone, 1983). For them, Catholic education would involve reflection upon issues and critical scrutiny of existing social situations (Edwards, 1976) even if traditional Catholic viewpoints were to suffer in the confrontation with values of social justice (Crudden, 1972). From this point of view, questions about the role of Catholic education become more problematic - and critical analysis of the liberating possibilities of Catholic education becomes possible.

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